

Mideast Conflict Adds To Danger of WW III

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Doves Into Hawks; A Lesson for the Peace Movement

By Harry Ring

JUNE 7 — The eruption of the Israel-Arab conflict has been accompanied by the spectacle of a remarkably swift transformation of leading Vietnam "doves" into pro-Israel "hawks."

A Washington correspondent of the *New York Post*, Mary McGrory, reported June 3: "President Johnson is having the unwelcome experience of hearing all of his rejected rhetoric on the Far East coming back to him in force on the Middle East. Phrases like 'commitment,' 'pledge,' 'resistance to aggression' are being used freely by his critics in the Israeli-Egyptian confrontation."

She cites the example of Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), a Vietnam dove, who told a Jewish Memorial Day rally in Washington that there could be no question of U.S. obligation to support Israel and, "if military action is necessary to obtain order and quiet in the Middle East, that action should be taken by the U.S. in concert with other nations. Yet there remains, if these efforts fail, a clear obligation for us to fulfill our own commitments."

Miss McGrory further reports that while Senator Robert Kennedy (D-N.Y.) has thus far taken the relatively dovish position of favoring dispatching a multilateral sea patrol to the Mideast, Senator Wayne Morse, a long-time critic on Vietnam, favors sending the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

In a May 24 congressional speech that sounded like Mendel Rivers discussing Vietnam, Morse declared:

"Nasser's record of international relations . . . is characterized by

trickery. Therefore any country that wants to protect its rights on the high seas ought to see to it that its ships, with their flags flying, go through the Strait of Tiran now."

The pressure on this issue has been so strong that even Rev. Martin Luther King, a leading advocate of nonviolence, signed a bellicose advertisement which appeared in the June 4 *New York Times*.

Signed by clergymen of various faiths, it declared in part: "President Nasser of Egypt has initiated a blockade of an international waterway: the Straits of Tiran, Israel's sea lane to Africa and Asia . . . President Johnson has called the blockade 'illegal and potentially disastrous to world peace.' We therefore call on the United States government steadfastly to honor its commitments to the freedom of international waterways. We call on our fellow Americans . . . and on the administration to support the independence, integrity and freedom of Israel."

The *New York Times* itself has been a prime example of dove turned hawk.

Endorsing the charge that Egypt was inciting to "genocide" against Israel, the paper declared in a June 6 editorial euphemistically entitled "The Search for Peace":

"In these circumstances — and despite the later White House qualifications — the State Department's description of the administration's position as 'neutral' in 'thought, word and deed' remains grotesque both in terms of Amer-

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Risk of Explosion Intensified By U.S. Global Aggression

By The Editors

The announcement early in the morning of June 5 that fighting had broken out on at least three fronts in the Arab world alarmed all of humanity. Was this part of a chain reaction — touched off in Vietnam — leading inevitably to a nuclear holocaust?

It seemed to confirm the warning of world leaders only a few weeks earlier. May 1, UN Secretary General Thant declared: "I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War III."

The same concern was voiced by top leaders in the Democratic and Republican parties. Six leading senators stated May 15 that Johnson's escalation of the Vietnam war could lead to war with the Soviet Union and China.

Piled on top of this, the Middle East crisis gave everyone the feeling that war between the world powers had already started. This was regardless of what the actual events leading to the present fighting might be.

These remain unclear.

As in Korea, the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of shooting are not known.

Egypt, Syria and Jordan declared Israeli forces had mounted an attack on their respective boundaries comparable to the 1956 invasion of the Sinai Peninsula. This was denied by Israel and the imperialist powers who backed the 1956 attack.

The crisis was placed before the UN Secretariat June 5. A brief meeting on that morning proved unable to resolve the conflict. June 6, a resolution was passed calling for a cease-fire; as of this writing, it is unclear what the effect of this resolution will be.

Roots of the Conflict

Whatever the immediate causes of the Arab-Israeli fighting, the truth is that its sources go back to World War II. The Middle East is one of the many powder kegs that were planted in "Big Three" agreements during and shortly after the war.

Locked out of the advanced capitalist nations, Jewish refugees uprooted by the war were transplanted to the British Arab colony of Palestine. This required the displacement of over one million Palestine Arabs who had inhabited that area for centuries.

Washington viewed the Israeli question solely from the standpoint of advancing its own oil interests in the Middle East. It backed Zionism in order to gain a foothold on the then predominantly British exploited sub-continent.

Today, returns to U.S. corporations on their oil investments amount to over \$1 billion a year on a total invested capital of less than \$5 billion.

In good part, these profits were guaranteed by keeping the Middle East in a constant turmoil of national and race war. The erecting of a nation of several million Jews on a sub-continent containing 80 million Arabs could only lay the basis for chauvinistic war.

These facts were clearly apparent to revolutionary socialists in 1947 when Washington forced the first UN proposal of a partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish sectors.

In that year, the Fourth International adopted a resolution urging Jewish workers not to be caught in the trap:

"Continuance of Jewish immigration into Palestine widens the breach between the Jewish and Arab workers, strengthens the position of and prolongs the presence of British imperialism, and cannot but prepare the ground for the complete extermination of the Jewish minority when the Arab uprising comes in the next stage."

The first confirmation of this prognosis was the bloody year-long Palestine War which followed the establishment of Israel in 1948.

In 1956, the situation boiled over into a second international crisis with the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on the Sinai Peninsula.

But the possibility of the current crisis developing into

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Gamal Abdel Nasser

Arab Nations Flay U.S. for Colonial Role

By Dick Roberts

UNITED NATIONS, June 6 — The Security Council resolution calling for a cease fire in the Middle East without any pullback by Israeli troops was vigorously opposed here this evening by Iraqi and Syrian representatives. Sponsored by Washington, the mandate was passed unanimously when Moscow retreated from the position of calling for a troop pullback it held earlier in the day.

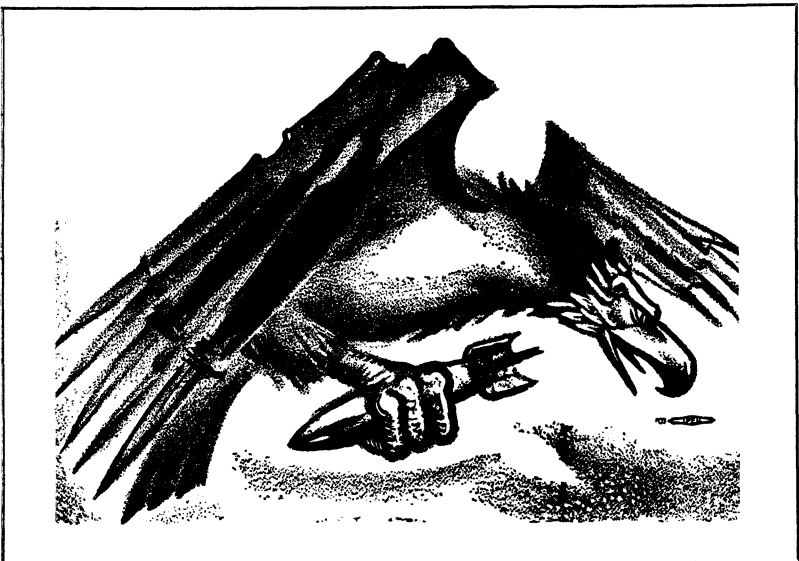
The resolution called for an immediate cease fire and did not demand that Israel withdraw from the region already occupied on the Sinai Peninsula. Iraqi Foreign Minister Pachachi declared: "The cease-fire resolution . . . is a complete surrender to Israel."

"For two days there have been negotiations to see whether a cease-fire resolution would be adopted that would be accompanied by a call for the withdrawal of forces back to the point from which hostilities started. That was not done because of the fact that certain states, and I mention the U.S. in particular, refused to go along with it."

Foreign Minister Pachachi and Syrian Ambassador George J. Tomeh compared Washington's roles in Vietnam and the Middle East. They demonstrated why Washington could not be trusted in any international action, and exposed the Security Council's role as an agent of Washington's demands.

"The accused in this case are the United Kingdom and the United States," Ambassador Tomeh stated. "But their representatives sit here in the Council as judges. Thus, we have the unique situation that I, as a plaintiff, must accept the answer of the ac-

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

On May 29 an historic 30-year fight of the United Steel Workers Union was won when the Mesta Machine Co. of West Homestead, Pa., capitulated and recognized the union.

The company finally gave in after a card check against the company payroll proved that a substantial majority of the workers were members of the USW.

The contract between the company and the union will run three years, its termination date to coincide with the ending of a forthcoming Big Steel contract (still to be negotiated) which, it is assumed, will terminate on May 27, 1970. The current Big Steel-USW contract expires in Aug. 1967. The terms of the Mesta contract will follow the lines of those arrived at in the current negotiations. Meanwhile the workers will be covered by the terms of the expiring agreement.

The United Steel Workers first tried to organize the Mesta Machine Co. workers in 1937. Repeated attempts to sign up these workers were countered by company union-busting tactics and further complicated by intra-union jurisdictional fights between the Steel Workers and craft AFL unions. The latest of these attempts was in 1958 when a jurisdictional squabble between USW and the Molders and Foundry Workers (AFL-CIO) over 500 foundry workers resulted in both unions being rejected in an NLRB election.

The union victory at the Mesta-Homestead plant of this large machine-tool manufacturing co. is a landmark for organized labor. It was at Homestead, Pa. that the infamous Pinkertons, called in during a steel strike in 1892 against the Carnegie Steel Corporation, opened fire on strikers, killing several. The strike was finally broken when the governor called in the National Guard.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, living costs in April rose 0.3 percent, the greatest jump in six months. According to the same source, more than 1 million workers will get cost-of-living increases of about 2 cents per hour based on the April Consumer Price Index.

A study conducted for the Social Security Administration by Dr.

A. J. Jaffe, director of the manpower and population program at Columbia University has recommended that social security and railway labor pensions have automatic escalator provisions so that pensions do not fall below 75 percent of prevailing wages!

Dr. Jaffe's report confirms what no pensioner ever doubted — that more than half of the 22 million old people who exist on social security pensions live in poverty. According to U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures, the poverty line is drawn at \$3,000 annual income. In New York City, the figure is \$4,000. The average social security pension is still only \$88 per month, or roughly \$1,000 per year.

Dr. Jaffe blames the worsening conditions among the nation's old people primarily on continual inflation only partially offset by social security benefit increases in 1954, 1959 and 1965.

On June 1 the Labor Department reported "a marked increase in the number of pension plans going out of business." Some 20,000 workers each year for the past 10 years have lost their pensions when their employers went out of business. A total of 225,000 workers have been affected by 4,259 terminated pension plans.

Financial difficulties were responsible for dissolving only one out of four pension plans studied. Mergers, with the pension funds transferred to the new companies, accounted for the majority of the rest. According to the Department of Labor, "liability of most companies was limited to their contributions to the pension plans, so workers generally could not sue for repayment from other assets of the company going out of business."

Six transport workers unions have launched an attack on the airline industry's strike insurance pact, which expires on July 10.

The six unions include the International Ass'n. of Machinists, the Air Line Pilots Ass'n., the Flight Engineers Int'l. Ass'n., Air Line Dispatchers Union, the Transport Workers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The "strike insurance pact" signed by all major airlines before the long machinists strike in 1966, netted the struck companies over \$44 million from four operating carriers.

P. L. Siemiller, president of the Machinists, said that an application has been filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board asking that the carrier's demand for renewal of their antistrike pact be denied. Siemiller called the "line's agreement . . . a strikebreaking device, which should be outlawed." He charged that the strike insurance pact "encouraged carriers to force a strike, delay good-faith bargaining and thus violates federal law designed to preserve airline peace."

—Marvel Scholl

Gain Over Jim Crow Won By San Francisco Painters

SAN FRANCISCO, May 29 — The Painters' Union (Local 4) of San Francisco scored a victory over racism this week. The victory was won over the mighty Golden Gate Bridge Authority.

The Bridge Authority had followed an all-white hiring policy for painters for 28 years — since it was opened, in fact — until the Painters' Union began its battle.

Two years ago, the Bridge Authority requested some new men from the union. Of the men supplied, the Bridge Authority hired five and turned away one—James Hougabook, a Negro painter. At that point, Hougabook and the union decided it was time to put a stop to Jim Crow on the Golden Gate. They went to the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Local 4 here had been engaged in a struggle with the International union over issues of union democracy and autonomy. One of the International's men on the Bay Area district council decided to help the Bridge Authority out. He

supplied the Bridge with another Negro painter, Jimmie Lee Wilkins, who had been a carwasher the day before. The Bridge thought that this move would make them look OK for the FEPC hearings.

But this maneuver didn't work. After five months of hearings, Hougabook was put to work on the bridge. The Bridge Authority responded by firing Wilkins. Since Wilkins was now a member of the union, Local 4 went to bat for him too. Under threat of new hearings, the Bridge rehired Wilkins. Now there were two black painters working on the bridge. The Bridge Authority began to compile dossiers on Wilkins and Hougabook, and on the shop steward who had fought for them — Paul Powell, who is white.

On April 28, 1967, the Bridge fired all three men — Hougabook, Wilkins, and Powell. The Bridge said they were "incompetent." Wilkins had now worked on the bridge almost two years; Hougabook had worked there 18

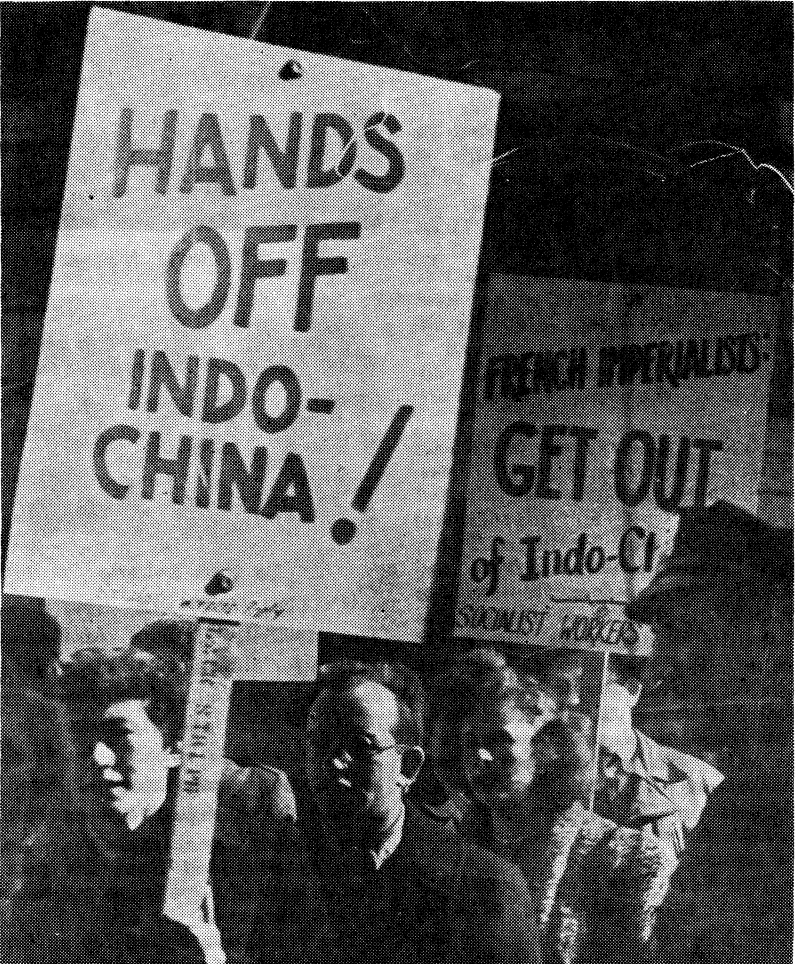
months — and it took the Bridge six years to discover that Paul Powell was "incompetent." At a phony "hearing" held by the Bridge before the firings, the Painters' Union lawyers were not allowed to bring in testimony on the Bridge's long record of racism. When they tried to do this, the Bridge Authority Terminated the hearing.

The Painters' Union went to work to have the three men rehired and to end racism and anti-unionism on the bridge. When the Bridge Authority announced that it was going to celebrate its 30th anniversary with a fancy luncheon in a downtown hotel, the union got together with many local leaders, civil rights groups, and student organizations to build a big demonstration outside the hotel.

The fancy lunch — and the demonstration — were to be held May 25. Union men went to many campuses in the area, seeking student support for the demonstration. And the student groups responded. Many put out their own leaflets, asking students to come to the demonstration to support a union local which refused to bow to racism and antiunionism.

It began to look embarrassing for the Bridge Authority. The day before the luncheon, they called it off. One painter suggests that the luncheon would have looked pretty pitiful, since many of the local "leaders" who had been invited decided not to go and face the counter-demonstration.

A small demonstration was held that day on the Golden Gate Bridge itself. The union has strike sanction from the district council, and will continue to press the fight to rehire Powell, Hougabook, and Wilkins, and to end the undemocratic, antiunion practices of the Bridge Authority.



A CONSISTENT RECORD. From the beginning of struggle of Vietnamese people for independence from French and then U.S. imperialism, Socialist Workers Party has been in the forefront of movement to rally support for Vietnamese freedom fighters. Here, New York SWP branch held picketline in front of French consulate in 1947. Today, SWP is leading force in building antiwar movement and in pressing for demand of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The Socialist Workers Party deserves your support. Use coupon on this page to mail in your contribution to the SWP today.

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Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Oakland	\$1,200	\$1,228	102
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Cleveland	1,000	1,000	100
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Chicago	1,800	1,375	76
San Diego	200	150	75
New York	5,800	4,257	73
St. Louis	100	62	62
Los Angeles	4,500	1,874	41
Allentown	135	50	37
San Francisco	1,200	375	31
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...Arab States Flay U.S. Colonial Role

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cused who sets himself up as a judge."

Tomeh continued: "No matter how the justification for the support of the U.S. government to Israel is stated, the conviction remains with us that the U.S. policy is geared and has been geared in the last quarter of a century... to the fulfillment of the aims of Zionism."

Syria, the United Arab Republic, Iraq and Algeria all broke relations with Washington during the course of the day.

It is significant of the deepening hatred for U.S. imperialism on a world scale that the brunt of the Arab representatives' attack was delivered against Washington rather than Tel Aviv.

"The U.S. government," Tomeh stated, "whose huge and powerful armies are killing the people of Vietnam day and night, has started a battle against our own people, the Arab people."

"But here and there, neither the Vietnamese nor the Arabs have committed any aggression against the Americans. The U.S. government, not the people, which is fighting a war of annihilation against the courageous Vietnamese people, through the Saigon generals, is now waging the same war

of annihilation against the Arab people through the Tel Aviv generals..."

Foreign Minister Pachachi underlined the Arab opinion of the Security Council mandate:

"In this grave and solemn hour, you may be sure... that our people, who have been led into this war against their will in order to defend their homeland against Israeli aggression, will definitely reconsider their position."

"It is not up to us — governments come and go — but you may be sure that the people will never tolerate this abject surrender to Israel."

Throughout the evening U.S. Ambassador Goldberg played the arrogant, pontifical and somewhat laborious role of Washington apologist so reminiscent of the late Adlai Stevenson. To say that Goldberg lied only on several occasions would be a serious disservice to radical journalism.

Goldberg's line, which must have been repeated twenty times, was that Washington had nothing

to do with the Israeli attack. Not only that, but Washington actually favored "peace" in the Middle East.

How this is supposed to square with the billions of dollars in armaments which Washington has poured into Israel in the last two decades; the belligerent cries for penalizing Egypt which have been issued in the last weeks by many leading Democrats and Republicans; Johnson's warnings to Nasser about the Gulf of Aqaba; his mobilization of the U.S. Sixth Fleet for attack; and Goldberg's own Security Council resolution sanctioning the Israeli invasion, is something only Goldberg could explain.

At one point, it must be recorded, the esteemed imperialist delegate did lose his sense of proportion. "It is untenable," Goldberg asserted, "for members of the United Nations to intervene in our domestic affairs."

"We would not presume to do that with respect to any country in the world."

...Doves Into Hawks

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ica's commitments and American interests in the area. Both will be seriously endangered if the further error is made of following the French in announcing a cut-off of military aid."

Earlier, in a May 31 editorial, the *Times* made clear that its criticism on Vietnam had little to do with legality, morality, justice or a concern for peace. It was, simply put, a tactical dissent on how best to advance the interests of American capitalism.

U.S. "Interests"

"As the British and French were gradually forced out of the area of the Mideast following World War II," the paper declared, "the United States took their place. The region is now of paramount strategic importance to this country, whereas until escalation of the Vietnam war Southeast Asia was only a marginal power factor for the United States..."

"If Washington now argues that it cannot afford to take on two crucial commitments at the same time, it would be another good

reason to say it is time to de-escalate the war in Vietnam."

This is rather blunt talk. For the most part the arguments of the doves turned hawks have been couched in the more palatable terms that in Vietnam the U.S. was wrong to intervene because it was defending a reactionary regime while in the Mideast it would be defending a democratic, progressive one against reactionary, feudal, anti-Semitic Arab potentates.

Such arguments are designed to play on the response of many socially minded Americans, particularly in the Jewish communities, who mistakenly see Mideast relations in that light.

Washington "Progressive"?

It could be argued that if justice and progress lay on the side of the Israelis, the reactionary, racist regime in Washington would be the last force on earth to be relied on to secure its future. Wherever a people has moved in the direction of meaningful social progress Washington has acted with remarkable speed to crush them. The very words Cuba, the Congo, Santo Domingo, Vietnam should be sufficient to make the point.

Moreover, those who make an objective study of developments in the Mideast will find that the U.S. government has armed and financed the Israeli regime because it uses it as a pawn in its moves to hold down the long-oppressed colonial people of the oil-rich Arab world.

Hands Off the Middle East

It is true that there are a variety of regimes in the Arab countries and that some of them are reactionary. (Those are generally financed by U.S. and other Western oil companies.) But Washington has no interest in ridding the world of reactionary regimes. This is a problem for the Arab peoples. Americans who are genuinely concerned with seeing the disappearance of such regimes and who want friendly relations between the Arab and Israeli people can hope to see these things realized only if there is an end to the reactionary intervention in the area by the U.S. and the other imperialist powers.

Opposition to such intervention is the urgent prerequisite for continuing the fight against war. The Mideast today, like Vietnam, has lodged within it the time bomb for nuclear catastrophe.

And, it should be plain, those capitalist politicians and pundits, like Morse or McCarthy or the editors of the *Times*, who would de-escalate in Vietnam only to escalate in the Mideast, have little to contribute to the cause of peace.

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...The Mideast Conflict

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world war is above all true because of the Johnson administration policy in Vietnam of "victory at any cost."

The deeper Washington sinks into the Vietnam morass, the greater is the threat of a world war in any international crisis.

Johnson has escalated the war fundamentally because of the failure of Moscow and Peking to respond with effective defensive measures. He has pushed as long as he can get away with it, taking advantage of the Moscow-Peking split, and their inability to form a united front against imperialism.

The Pentagon in fact expects a counterthrust. This is why they proceeded by stages in escalating the war. The danger is that they're in so deep that even when this occurs, they won't be able to draw back.

At first glance, this would seem to justify Moscow and Peking's present policies. Preventing World War III seems to hinge on their not making such a response.

But this viewpoint is totally unrealistic. It fails to take account of the obvious fact that each time the workers states do not respond, the next Pentagon escalation is bigger and more dangerous. There is more and more talk of a "pre-emptive" strike — a surprise attack with nuclear bombs.

The trouble with the Pentagon judgment is that Moscow and Peking are not weak. They have huge standing armies; Moscow has immense air power.

And furthermore, it is unlikely that they will refrain indefinitely from defending themselves. A vigorous response by the Soviet Union and China, an upsurge in the colonial revolution, development of a mass antiwar movement in this country — or any combination of these — could deliver a major blow to imperialism.

This is one of the things Washington fears about the current Middle East war. It could provoke nationalization of the oil holdings along the lines of Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956.

The Struggle Against War

The Mideast crisis above all points up the need for a general solution to the problem of war. Washington's Asia aggression was halted in Korea, 15 years ago, only to be repeated on a greater scale in Vietnam today.

The Palestine war was ended in 1949, only to be taken up again in 1956, and now in 1967. A temporary agreement to cease hostilities in the Middle East now on the basis of preserving capitalist interests will only postpone the date of a greater and more deadly conflict.

Despite all their claims, capitalism is simply not capable of maintaining world peace. The capitalist system is basically expansionary. It has created a worldwide network of imperialist investments which drain the underdeveloped nations of natural wealth.

That is why Washington's allies in every country of the underdeveloped world without exception are the dictatorial cliques whose rule depends on and could not exist without U.S. arms.

That is why the vast majority of Washington's "aid" to the underdeveloped world in the last 20 years consists of bombs, tanks and guns.

The underdeveloped world cannot feed its peoples so long as imperialist monopoly continues to extract its profits and protect its interests. And that fundamental impossibility is the source of colonial revolution.

World War II ended inconsistently from the imperialist viewpoint because it left the Soviet Union intact and gave rise to a whole series of colonial revolutions.

Serious opponents of war should take careful note of the whole pattern of history in the so-called cold war. It reveals the answer to war as well as its cause. The struggle for socialism, the struggle to end the capitalist system of private profit, is the struggle to end imperialist war.

That struggle is the answer to the danger of World War III. So long as the advance of private interests continues to threaten every region of the globe, for that long will the threat of nuclear war continue to exist and continue to grow.

And logically, just as the center of world imperialist power is in this country, so the most important battleground against imperialist war is in this country. It is right here that it is most necessary to take power from the hands of the capitalist rulers. They are the ones with hydrogen bombs; they are the ones with a program for World War III.



Arthur Goldberg

Phila. Memorial Meeting Held for John Chelstrom

PHILADELPHIA — A memorial meeting for John Chelstrom was held here on May 28. John, 24, was killed on May 13 in a tragic automobile accident involving a car carrying three antiwar activists to the Student Mobilization Committee conference in Chicago.

Speakers at the memorial meeting included Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance; Pearl Chertov, Philadelphia organizer of the Socialist Workers Party; and John Benson, Philadelphia organizer of the YSA.

John Chelstrom had been a member of the socialist movement for seven years, since he was 16 years old. All three of the speakers singled out John's exceptional dedication to the struggle for socialism.

Lew Jones explained that John Chelstrom had been both a close co-worker and a close personal friend, and that "his death was both a deep personal loss to me and a tragic loss to the cause of socialism."

"When we struggle for socialism," Lew Jones said, "we are striving to bring about a world in which more people are dedicated

to the betterment of all — in which there are more John Chelstroms."

The speakers recounted anecdotes about John Chelstrom, the socialist, and John Chelstrom, the man whom they knew. It was recalled that John loved music, that he enjoyed cooking, that he was a quiet person who always had a smile or a friendly joke for everyone, that he did not enjoy moving, but moved twice in the past year when the Young Socialist Alliance needed someone in Detroit and again when he could be useful in Philadelphia.

John Benson talked about John's dedication to the antiwar movement, which took up most of his time during the past two years. In 1966, John went on a tour for the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* to help develop and organize the antiwar movement. He was en route to an important antiwar meeting when he died.

Pearl Chertov spoke of John as a friend and a comrade in the Socialist Workers Party. She mentioned that his parents have decided to donate his large library of socialist literature to the Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Cuba's Answer to Venezuelan Charges

[The following is the text of a May 17 declaration by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.]

As our people have been made aware through the dispatches published textually in our newspapers from all of the international news agencies, the lackey government of Venezuela, following evident instructions from its Washington masters, is making every effort to raise a hysterical, violent, aggressive and warlike campaign against our country.

In terms that can only be called shameless, reference is made to naval and air blockade, ultimatums, collective armed attack, economic boycott against the countries that trade with Cuba, etc., etc. In other words, the most vulgar threats and attempts to intimidate our country are being employed.

And what has aroused this paroxysm of bellicose hysteria, blustering threats and unseemly shouts of war?

Is it, by chance, that the "illustrious" governments of Latin America are joining together to move in support of the Dominican people, still under occupation by Yankee troops?

Is it to demand an end to the occupation of the Panama Canal and to seek punishment for the massacre of the people of that country carried out in the recent past by soldiery of the United States?

Vietnam?

Is it to condemn the barbarous and brutal bombardments of North Vietnam and the genocide committed against the people of South Vietnam?

Is it to protest against the United States for the open participation of personnel of its "special forces" in the repression of the revolutionary movements of Latin America and to demand the shutting down of the military training schools that have been set up by imperialism, in Panama and the United States itself, to train thousands of killers for the oligarchic armies in the technique of persecution and extermination of revolutionary fighters?

Is it to request that the territory of the naval base at Guantánamo, from which, every now and again, Cuban sentinels are shot at and murdered, be returned to Cuba?

Is it to condemn, even though tardily, the invasion at Playa Girón — organized by the CIA from bases in Nicaragua and Guatemala — the bombardment of our cities by Yankee planes painted with Cuban insignia, the piratical attacks from bases ringing Cuba, the thousands of instances of infiltration, dropping of arms en masse by air to supply counter-revolutionary bands, and all of the other gross violations of the same nature that, uninterruptedly during the last eight years, the Yankee imperialists have been carrying out against Cuba?

Against Blockade?

Is it to urge imperialism to immediately lift its criminal and cowardly economic blockade of a Latin American people, maintained in violation of all international and human norms and with the repugnant complicity of Latin Amer-

ican governments, with the honorable exception of Mexico?

No! These and many other acts of similar stripe are utterly unimportant and absolutely not worthy of heed.

What has incited this fury and this hysteria is the news of the presence of three Cubans, of whom one was killed and two arrested while, it is affirmed, they were engaged in helping a group of eight Venezuelan revolutionaries to return to their country. These Venezuelans were, precisely, a part of those who have been struggling for years for the liberation of their country from the tutelage and exploitation of the Yankee monopolies, ipso facto cause for their immediate murder when they fall into the hands of the Venezuelan regime's repressive police. And this, indeed, is sufficient reason for inciting immediate, fulminating, exterminating action against Cuba!

Imperialist Norms

This is the philosophy, the concept of international law, morality and norms that the imperialists wish to impose on the world.

The curious thing is that when these righteous men speak of war against Cuba they think in terms of a war to be waged by the Yankee army, navy and air force. That is, they think as cowards, of what in their judgment would be for the imperialists a simple and easy act of genocide against our people. This is what is behind the melodramatic bravado of Sr. Leoni. Furthermore, his statements contain a number of lies. None of the three young Cubans mentioned belongs to the regular army of Cuba.

Antonio Briones Montoto: 27 years old. He participated actively in his early youth in the resistance movement against Batista and later served the Revolution in many fields, but never belonged to the regular army of Cuba.

Manuel Gil Castellanos: 25 years old. Too young to participate in Cuba's guerrilla fighting, neither did he at any time belong to the regular army. Like Briones, he served in various other revolutionary capacities.

Pedro Cabrera Torres: 29 years old. Of farm extraction, he was in the army for somewhat over a year between 1961 and 1963, in which year he left that service.

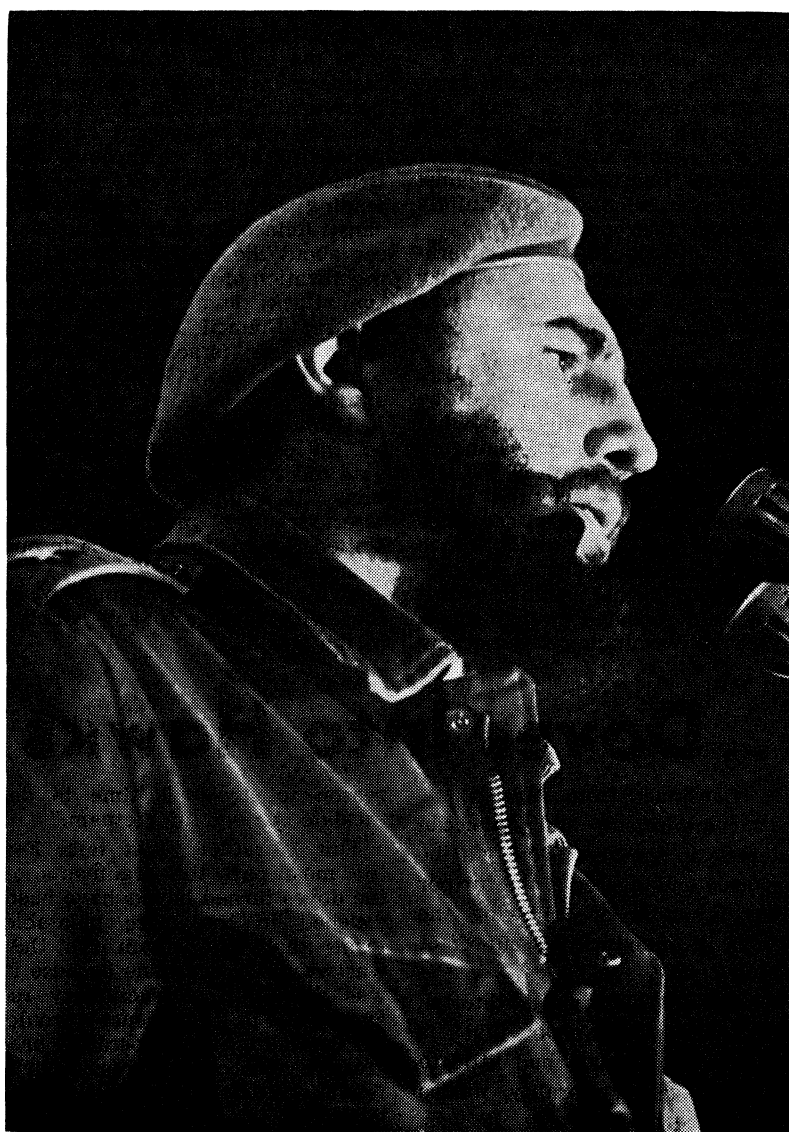
Soviet Rifles

It is equally false that a Soviet-made rifle coming from Cuba could have been captured, since all such weapons supplied to the Republic of Cuba by the USSR are perfectly registered and controlled by the army's Weapons Section and none has been found missing.

With regard to all of the other affirmations contained in the official declaration, they have been able to offer nothing more than testimony attributed to persons who are absolutely at the mercy of their jailers, whose lack of scruples and brutal methods are only too well-known.

But there is no question here of our being interested in evading any responsibility whatsoever. Concerning the ends, in relation to Cuba, pursued by imperialism and its policy of repressing the revolutionary movement, it is unnecessary to invent any lie or to prove any truth. Yankee imperialism is a system which seeks to dominate the world, using the most draconian and ruthless methods for this purpose.

This imperialism is now engaged in a fight to the death against the revolutionary movements throughout the world. Our people have known intimately and through suffering the consequences of this imperialist design since the very day on which, after heroic struggle, we obtained, for the first time in the four centuries of our history, the right to direct our own destiny and



Fidel Castro

build our future. We are struggling and we shall continue to struggle without vacillation or compromise against that criminal imperialism and against all its accomplices and lackeys.

The nauseating OAS comedy is superfluous; imperialism has never required excuses for its crimes, nor does the Cuban Revolution ask permission or forgiveness in order to carry out its duties of solidarity with all revolutionaries of the world, including Venezuelan revolutionaries. Revolutionary acts are justified by the very existence of imperialism.

The fundamental objective of imperialist strategy in the world today is very clear: to crush liberation movements, repressing them by means of the most brutal and violent use of its military power; to establish neocolonialism in the countries which have recently become independent; to establish absolutely privileged conditions throughout the world for its economic interests and to dominate all mankind through brute force.

Imperialist "Right"

To carry out its bloody policy of repression against the revolutionary liberation movements in underdeveloped countries, Yankee imperialism has attempted to establish for itself a peculiar right: the right to intervene militarily with its armed forces and unleash destructive, merciless wars against small, weak countries, crushing them one by one. With an army of 40,000 men, they drowned in blood the revolutionary movement in the Dominican Republic, without need of any pretext or agreement of the OAS, to which they only later entrusted the sorry task of giving its stamp of approval.

Almost a million soldiers of different nationalities are waging a genocidal war against the people of South Vietnam; Yankee troops keep South Korea and a part of the territory of Laos under military occupation, savagely bomb the territory of North Vietnam and the liberated zones of Laos, threaten Cambodia and North Korea with aggression and prop

up the Protectorate of Taiwan with their navy.

To carry out this villainy, military bases established on the territory of numerous nations of every continent are being used, and these at times are maintained by active force, as in the case of the occupied territory of Guantánamo. Some of these bases, as those in Thailand, participated directly and actively in the acts of aggression.

Imperialism internationalizes its repressive wars by using soldiers of various nationalities, as was done in Korea and is now being done in South Vietnam, where troops from South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia are being used; as was done in the Dominican Republic, where Brazilian, Costa Rican, Honduran, Nicaraguan and Paraguayan troops were given after-the-fact participation, and as it hopes to do with the creation, via the OAS, of an international force to be used against Cuba and the liberation movements of this continent.

Yankee imperialism considers all these actions to be legitimate, moral; it invests itself with the right to practice piracy and crime in all corners of the world: Korea, Vietnam, the Congo, Laos, Cuba, the Dominican Republic.

No country can feel secure, because tomorrow Yankee imperialism can unleash new aggressions in Korea or in Cambodia, in the United Arab Republic, Algeria or Cuba, to cite only a few examples.

The conspiracies of the CIA and reactionary coups d'état such as those in Brazil and Argentina in Latin America, Ghana in Africa, and Indonesia in Asia continue without interruption. Today the activities of the Yankee imperialists affect, directly or indirectly, all nations of all continents.

Western Europe itself is being increasingly submitted to economic colonization by Yankee imperialism. The labor of millions of European workers goes to increase imperialist profits. Yankee monopoly capital acquires ever greater participation in many major industries, and this increased participation is obtained not only

through dividends received in Europe from the exploitation of workers in England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, etc., but (as some financial authorities have pointed out) with the banking resources of these countries themselves since their monetary holdings are, to a great extent, in U.S. currency, while the gold remains in U.S. vaults.

And in all European enterprises in which Yankee investments play a dominant role or are decisive, the policy of the government of the United States is imposed over and above the sovereignty of each country. None of these industrial enterprises, whatever the country in which it is located, accepts the sale or purchase of any product from countries such as Korea, Vietnam, China or Cuba. Yankee imperialism has imposed its economic blockades and, what is more, exercises every type of pressure on the rest of the national industries, threatening them with economic reprisals to force their participation in its criminal policy. The same policy is followed with banking and commercial and shipping interests.

Yankee Objectives

Nor does the United States hide its intention to use economic relations to penetrate, weaken, demoralize, corrupt and split the socialist countries of Europe. Not a single act of Yankee international policy is not inspired by this morality, this policy, with these strategic objectives in mind.

The U.S.-inspired coup d'état in Greece shows that not even Europe escapes the schemes employed by Yankee imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But it is the small, militarily weak countries of the so-called Third World which suffer the most brutal, aggressive and bellicose policies of imperialism.

No system exists that can offer these peoples guarantees against such criminal acts. The United Nations itself has been totally unable to give these peoples the slightest security, and, much to the contrary, has in general served as an instrument to validate the crimes and villainy of Yankee imperialism. And it could not be otherwise, since it is dominated by the same law that imperialism has imposed on the world represented in this world organization.

Our Policy

This reality—above all for the regions of the world that suffer most directly and painfully the clutches of the imperialists, forced to wage a firm and decided fight against imperialism under the most difficult conditions — is what determines our international policy.

That is why we Cuban revolutionaries have not subscribed to, nor will we subscribe to, any agreement concerning the cessation or banning of nuclear weapons, such as those made under the auspices of the United Nations, even though in our present stage of technological development this represents only a position of principles.

Yankee imperialists not only step up development of their nuclear armaments, but also develop at full speed deadly instruments for the waging of chemical and bacteriological warfare. What other result could the peoples' renunciation of development of their defensive means have but to afford the imperialists ideal conditions for terrorizing and blackmailing the world?

As long as there is no system for the whole of humanity to offer all peoples, without exception, equal and effective guarantees of security, with privileges for none, the right of imperialist-menaced countries to develop their means

The Logic Of Marxism

By
George Novack

§1

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ges of 'Intervention'

of defense, whatever these may be, cannot be renounced.

For this reason, we refuse to accept any United Nations international force, which would only serve as yet another instrument of aggression in the hands of Yankee imperialists.

For this reason, we refuse to recognize the right of the United States to dictate — as was the case during the October Crisis — the type of weapons which our country, under constant threat of aggression, may possess. Much less would we agree to an inspection of our territory, which would be tantamount to legalizing the right of aggressors to decide the weapons that their future victims may or may not possess.

Solidarity

For this reason, we consider it not only a revolutionary moral duty, but also a vital need of the peoples in today's world—in view of the imperialist policy of repression and internationalization of its punitive wars against all revolutionary movements — to encourage and provide the fullest solidarity and aid to revolutionaries anywhere in the world who are struggling or are prepared to struggle against imperialism.

Some believe that adoption of a consonant and resolute revolutionary policy against imperialism would inexorably lead to nuclear conflict. Such belief presupposes that the Yankee imperialists are inclined to commit suicide. The Yankee imperialists are powerful, but they are neither invincible nor ready to commit suicide, and the road which will lead to solution of the conflict between the interests of that imperialism and those of the rest of humanity, according to the laws of history, is the peoples' revolutionary struggle. Against that struggle, the imperialists' conventional, chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons will be of no avail.

Defeating imperialism is not the same as defeating the people of the United States, or the nation as such. The groups that control Yankee monopoly capital are a small minority within the United States. The population of the United States is composed, in great majority, of millions of workers employed in industry, farmers who till the soil, intellectuals and students. A considerable part of that population is made up of the Negro people who are struggling arduously for their rights.

It is seldom taken into account that the people of the United States constitute one of the main victims of Yankee imperialism. It is they who, in large part, pay for the repressive, unjust wars of the imperialists with the sweat of their toil and the blood of their sons.

Many Vietnams

Recently the Pentagon declared — perhaps trying to counter the revolutionary watchword of Major Ernesto Guevara — that it was fully prepared to wage, simultaneously, several wars similar to the one it wages in Vietnam. That is the thinking of the Pentagon, but it is not the thinking of U.S. mothers; it is not the thinking of the U.S. Negro population, deprived of its most elementary rights; it is by no means what the workers who live by dint of their labor can logically think, nor the immense majority of U.S. students and youth.

This statement by the Pentagon may be true as a quantitative expression of total technological resources, but it is quite far from being true with reference to human, moral and political resources — not only insofar as several Vietnam-type wars are concerned but even in regard to victory in just one country: Vietnam.

Such a venture would produce

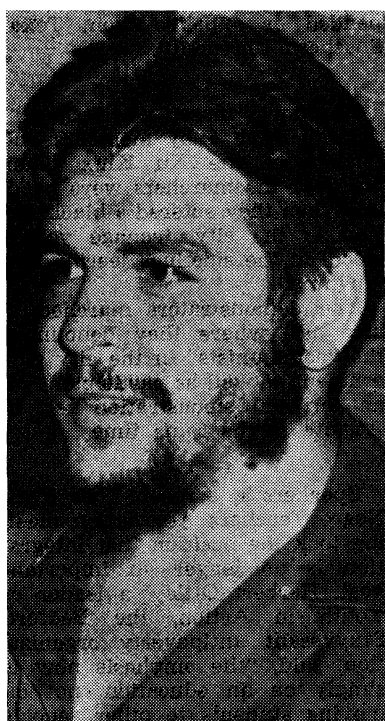
an awakening of unforeseen dimensions in the consciousness of the people of the United States, for in today's historic process the peoples fighting for their liberation and the people of the United States will draw closer and closer together and will one day live in sincere peace and friendship built over the ruins of an imperial policy that must resort to crime and the genocide of entire peoples as its only means of continued existence.

The alternative that confronts the peoples is: either capitulate to imperialism or resist and fight. To resist and fight in all periods of history has meant to face the risks entailed by resistance and struggle, as to capitulate has meant simply to capitulate.

Fear aroused by nuclear blackmail does indeed lead to an inexorable result, which is to yield to imperialism without resistance and without struggle. Thus, the fiction and the lie that the imperialists are willing to commit suicide serves the imperialists as a much more effective weapon than their atomic arsenal.

If we desire peace, that peace must extend to all people alike. In today's world, besieged by an empire whose tentacles extend to all continents, the concept of peace can be honored only if it is universal. In the same way, if the concept of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems does not guarantee the integrity, sovereignty and independence of all countries alike, large and small, it is essentially opposed to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

What kind of peace are the Vietnamese enjoying? What kind of coexistence is the United States practicing with that country? As for the men, women and children who die there daily, victims of the most modern military technology who see bombs dropping on their country in such quantities



Che Guevara

that the figures will soon exceed the total weight of those dropped on Europe during the Second World War and whose accumulated destructive power is greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki — what do the words peace, European security, peaceful coexistence and other idyllic phrases of the kind mean to them?

With all of this in mind, our party and our people do not shrink from their revolutionary responsibility to the world, nor will they shrink from combat, with all its consequences and sacrifices, in whatever form and in whatever field that imperialism decides to initiate it against us.

We are accused of wanting to subvert order on this continent,

and we, quite so, proclaim the historic need for the peoples to subvert the order established by imperialism in Latin America and in the rest of the world.

We are accused of calling for the revolutionary overthrow of established governments in Latin America, and we, quite so, believe that all oligarchic governments of gorillas with or without uniforms, servants of imperialism and accomplices to their crimes, must be swept away by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. We are accused of helping the revolutionary movements, and we, quite so, are giving and will continue to give help to all revolutionary movements that struggle against imperialism in any part of the world, whenever they request it.

We will never submit to the status quo that imperialism is attempting to impose on mankind, nor its draconian laws nor its huckster morality, devoid of scruples. Our right is the right of the peoples to emancipate themselves from exploitation and slavery, the right of mankind to rebel against the aggressions and crimes of imperialism, the main bulwark of world reaction.

Our Morality

Our laws are those of the inevitable revolutionary development of human society; our morality is that of revolutionary combatants, one of whose most inviolable and sacred principles in the world today is that of international solidarity.

In response to the threats that hang over our country today, our reply will be to redouble our defense efforts, without abandoning our arduous and increasingly successful efforts for the cultural, technological and economic development of our country, under the present conditions of economic blockade and, if need be, even under conditions of total blockade, for by now no force in the world can destroy our Revolution.

The Yankee imperialists and all their accomplices in aggression against Cuba will have to live with the consequences of their actions.

It is no surprise to us that the corrupt, subservient and traitorous band that rules Venezuela urges an imperialist war against our people, since it has been at war against the people of Venezuela for the past several years, and its inability to crush the revolutionary movement explains its desperation.

Today it calls for imperialist intervention in Cuba; tomorrow it will call for the direct intervention of "marines" in Venezuela itself.

Tradition of Bolívar

If it is true that the young Cuban Antonio Briones Montoto was killed by two bullets in the head and lies buried 60 meters from the beach in the Machurucuto cemetery as a result of having aided Venezuelan revolutionaries, our party and our people deeply support his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist and heroic action. To give one's life to serve the Venezuelan Revolution is not only to be true to the purest Marxist-Leninist conception, but is also to be true to the most beautiful tradition of Bolívar and the Venezuelan nation, whose sons fought and died for the independence of many other sister peoples of this continent. Bolívar hoped to fight one day for Cuban independence. Let those who call for an imperialist war against our country cease to invoke his name!

There will never be war between the peoples of Venezuela and Cuba. What is decided in Washington by the OAS and its master does not matter.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

Ex-GI from Fort Hood Asks Support to Petrick

Pfc. Howard Petrick, a 21-year-old soldier at Fort Hood, Texas, who has been threatened with court-martial for his antiwar views, has received encouragement from his fellow GIs in his fight for the right of free speech within the Army. Petrick is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Petrick was told by Army authorities on April 1, after he returned from a leave, that he faced possible court-martial charges of making "disloyal statements," "subversion," and "creating disaffection" with the Army. While he was on leave, his literature on the Vietnam war and other social problems was confiscated by the Army, and has not been returned, pending the completion of an investigation of him.

Foot Hood GI

Robert M. King was one of several GIs who were interrogated and had their lockers searched as part of the investigation. Since then, King has been discharged from the Army. This former GI, who worked with Pfc. Petrick at Ft. Hood, wrote the following statement of support of Petrick's right of free speech:

"I, Robert M. King, have known Howard Petrick for around seven months. He and I served as cooks for the 2nd Squadron of the 1st Cavalry at Ft. Hood, Texas together until his transfer to the Infantry, after the Army had taken steps to prosecute him for subversion, disaffection, and disloyal statements. I have never known Petrick to make any disloyal statements or incite any disaffection. I shared the same room with Petrick for about two months, and was never approached to join any organization or anything else. Howard would voice opinions on Vietnam and the antiwar movements, but he always continued his duties as a soldier and made the opinions openly to anyone who asked.

"It is the right of every citizen and soldier, and maybe more so the latter, to have opinions and voice them in an open way. This is, I believe, one of the reasons we call this a free country, and one of our defense principles in Vietnam.

Search

"During Howard's interrogation, all my possessions were searched and left scattered about the room. I asked what they — the Military Intelligence — were looking for, but I was ignored in receiving any answer. Not until my three-hour interrogation was I informed what and why it was all about.

"The literature and reading material that was in Petrick's locker was always open for inspection — of which we had many — to any of the inspecting officers, and it seemed strange that the Army had

Another GI Convicted For Socialist Views

Pvt. Andrew D. Stapp was convicted by a U.S. Army court-martial June 1 for refusing to obey an order to turn over his antiwar and socialist literature.

According to the Associated Press, the literature included copies of *The Militant*, works by Karl Marx and Malcolm X, and other radical publications.

"I refused to let them take my literature," Stapp declared, "because the First Amendment of the United States Constitution guarantees the right of all Americans to free speech . . . [including] the right of revolutionary socialists to organize within the Army . . ."

Stapp was sentenced to a reduction to the lowest pay grade, unconfined hard labor, and forfeiture of two-thirds of one month's pay.

to wait till Petrick was away on a leave to confiscate his belongings.

"I believe people in a free country should be able to read whatever they like — it's perfectly legal to print it.

"While stationed in Texas, I read a great deal about horse racing, but it is illegal for mutual wagering in Texas. Should this be a crime?"

"I hope the true message in this statement finds its way to all concerned, including the Military Intelligence division of the Army."

In another development, the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a street meeting in support of Petrick. The antiwar GI had been a member of the Minnesota committee before he was inducted into the service.

The Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick has published a pamphlet containing an interview with Petrick, and has issued an attractive button calling for defense of Petrick and free speech for GIs. The pamphlet sells for 10 cents, and the button for 25 cents.

Urgently needed contributions can be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Capt. Levy's Trial Shows How Army Rigs "Justice"

"When I was a young officer we sat through a lecture on court-martial. The lecturer told us, 'Look, when the command orders a court-martial, it wants a conviction. So convict.'"

This testimony by Marine General Lewis Puller was made at a court-martial in 1956, but it could be used with accuracy to describe the "justice" involved in the conviction of Capt. Howard Levy, an antiwar army doctor, on June 2.

Levy was sentenced to three years at hard labor for disobedience and "seeking to promote disloyalty" by making statements against the war in Vietnam.

Levy had refused to teach Special Forces (Green Berets) his medical specialty, dermatology, on the grounds that the Special Forces used medicine to advance their role as killers in Vietnam. While Levy produced much evidence and witnesses to prove his contention, the trial officer or "judge" arbitrarily ruled against the evidence and instructed the court-martial to disregard it.

The "disloyal statements" charge is based upon Article 134 of the Military Code of Justice, an unconstitutional law that attempts to deny soldiers the right of free speech.

When Charles Morgan, Levy's attorney, attempted to get Col. Brown, the court-martial "judge," to define what a "disloyal statement" is, Brown refused.

The defense has begun the process of appealing the court-martial through the military courts.

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Draws Crowd of 1,500

L.A. Black Power Parley

By Eleanor Broady

LOS ANGELES — Nearly 1,500 people attended a black power conference held here May 27, 28 and 29. The conference took positions overwhelmingly for independent black political action, against participation in the war in Vietnam, and for black control of the ghetto. The registration fee for each participant was \$5.

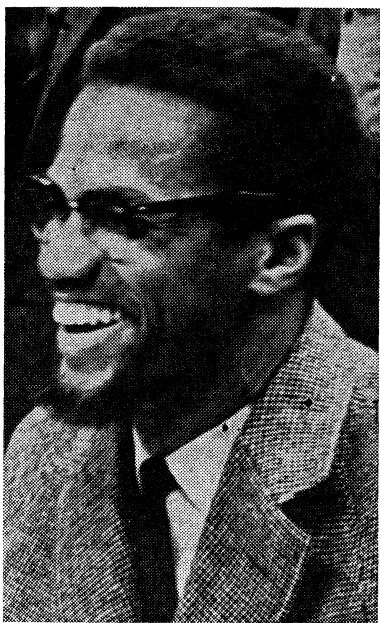
The average age of those at the conference, which was called the "Black Peoples Conference for the Survival of Black People in a White Racist Society," was about 30, and nearly half the participants were women. All whites, including the mass news media, were barred from the auditorium, and there was not a white face to be seen at the meeting. There was a preponderance of natural hair styling, indicating a sharp rejection of white culture.

Organizers of the meeting included the Nonviolent Action Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, various black nationalists, and Democratic Party representatives.

The greatest unity at the conference was on the question of total opposition to the Vietnam war. A number of speakers drew an analogy between the summer programs of the Johnson administration to pacify the ghettos and the pacification program in South Vietnam.

Another central topic of discussion was black political action. State Senator Mervyn Dymally and Assemblyman William Greene spoke in favor of black people organizing as a "third force." Such a political "force" would support either the Republicans or Democrats, maneuvering between them. Both speakers received a cool response.

Statements by Stokely Car-



HIS IDEAS LIVE. Conference opened with moment of silence in honor of Malcolm X. Ideas of late black leader were quoted by many speakers.

michael, Rap Brown of SNCC, and Floyd McKissick of CORE calling for independent black political action were greeted with thunderous applause.

Rap Brown, the new chairman of SNCC, spoke about "the two party myth." He said that there is only one party, with two names — Democrat and Republican. He called for "black political action independent of both wings of this one party wherever we constitute a majority."

Brown also made a plea for blacks to read, study and become political — to learn to distinguish what the goals of a political program are, to see whether it benefits black people or whites. He got

a standing ovation after his talk which ended with the slogan, "Hell No! We Won't Go!"

A tremendous cheering ovation greeted Stokely Carmichael when he stepped up to the podium. Carmichael advocated black political parties for the South where there are counties which are predominately black.

For the North, he called for black control of the ghetto, including the educational system and the police and fire departments. He said that profits made from businesses in the ghetto by those living outside should be used to develop social programs for black people.

Carmichael took to task those black leaders so quick to label rebellious youth as "looters," and who never speak out against rent gougers and sharp businessmen who fatten on the blood of black people.

He scoffed at the summer plans of Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty and other big city mayors. "If there are ghetto explosions," he warned, "don't accept the rationalizations about 'outside agitators' or 'communists' that will be used by the government and some black leaders." He said, "conditions of the ghetto breed these activities."

Many speakers attacked the distorted anti-black textbooks used in the public schools. The point was made that education is designed to perpetuate the present system and that black people and other non-whites in the ghetto must control the educational system so as to provide the type of education that meets the needs of the ghetto.

Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, stressed the need for independent black political movements to control the ghettos. McKissick spoke of Muhammad Ali's refusal to enter the Army. "People all over the world support his stand against the war," McKissick said, and the crowd rose to its feet with a roar of approval.

Rev. James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, spoke for more than two hours. Bevel said that the war in Vietnam is being carried out by an arrogant white racist imperialist government, a government that "has never had an honorable treaty with a non-white government." He said, "The present war is the end result of the policies of a racist government that must continually search for new pockets of exploitation, natural resources and cheap labor." Bevel ridiculed the reasons given by the government for its presence in Vietnam. He asked the audience, "Do you believe the U.S. is in Vietnam to protect those people's democratic right?" The crowd roared, "No!" "Are we going to support this war?" "No!"

Among the many other featured conference speakers were Julian Bond, black member of the Georgia House of Representatives, and Ron Karenga of the Los Angeles ghetto organization, "US." Karenga came out for the "third force" concept.

Ambassador Nabwera from Kenya also spoke, urging Afro-Americans to give all possible support to the struggles in Africa, particularly those in South Africa.

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The Black Struggle

Waning Black Support Worries Democrats

Some 150 black Democratic Party office holders went to Washington June 4 for a conference to rally support for President Johnson. The meeting, called by the Democratic national committee, was the first of its kind.

The June 1 *New York Post* outlined the reasons why the conference was called. The *Post* article said, "Implicit in the meeting — first of its kind — is the recognition that President Johnson faces serious problems in holding the overwhelming share of the Negro vote he received in 1964."

The *Post* points out that, "Prominent Negroes from 'black power' advocate Stokely Carmichael to Rev. Martin Luther King have criticized the administration for its Vietnam war policies and its alleged failings in the area of civil rights. There has been scattered talk of a Negro-led third party."

* * *

The Census Bureau reports that black people now make up 11 percent of the population. In 1960, according to bureau statistics, Afro-Americans were 10.5 percent.

* * *

Five Texas Southern University students have been indicted in Houston for the slaying of a patrolman during the police assault on a student dormitory May 17.

District Attorney Carol Vance said that the students were not being accused of the shootings, but of starting the violence that led to the death. But, the actual indictment says that the students, "did then and there voluntarily and with malice aforethought kill Louis Raymond Kuba by shooting him with a gun."

Three of the students are still in jail and two have been released on \$10,000 bond.

In the aftermath of the police assault 25 Texas Southern University students have been suspended or expelled from Texas Southern University.

* * *

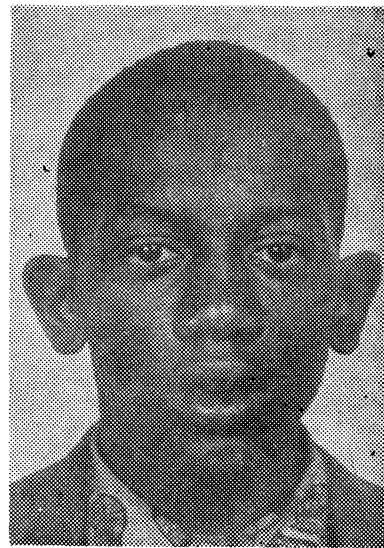
A pro-war march was staged in Atlanta June 4 by members and friends of the Ku Klux Klan. Many of the marchers were hooded. When they entered a black section of the city, teenage youths stood on the sidelines jeering and laughing.

The demonstrators marched to city hall where they denounced the "communists" in the city government as well as participants on an antiwar demonstration held in Atlanta at the same time.

* * *

Speakers at a recent New York Negro Teachers Association meeting took the position that integration is no longer an important goal. Herbert Ottley, a leader of Youth in Action, the Bedford Stuyvesant anti-poverty organization, said, "the emphasis now is simply on an education, not on moving students to other schools to get results."

The association, which represents half of the city's 4,800 Afro-



Thomas Wansley

American teachers, called for a course in African history to be added to the school curriculum.

* * *

In the wake of Muhammad Ali's complaint about discrimination on draft boards, Kentucky now plans to give Afro-Americans more representation on the boards. At present only two of the 690 local draft board members are black.

* * *

Thomas Wansley of Lynchburg, Va., has been fighting for five years against a frame-up for rape and robbery of \$1.37. On June 5 he was convicted and sentenced to two life terms in prison. The judge made a decision to make the life terms "consecutive" rather than "concurrent." This means that Wansley will not be able to apply for parole for 30 years.

Wansley has been in jail without bail since Dec. 8, 1962, when he was 17 years old, and has been through the ordeal of a series of trials. His case has become well-known over the five years since he was first arrested and people from around the country have rallied to his defense.

One of the biggest issues in the case has been the "trial by newspaper" in the racist Lynchburg press. At the second trial the defense spent two days showing how prospective jurors were influenced by newspaper charges that Wansley is guilty and that one of his lawyers was a communist.

* * *

The dynamic jazz of Charles Lloyd was too much for the Soviet officials running a Moscow jazz festival held this May. They refused to let the Charles Lloyd quartet play for the first three days of the festival. Only after a clamor from the participants and Lloyd's refusal to play before a "limited audience" of festival organizers did the officials relent and allow a public appearance. The quartet received wild applause from Soviet jazz fans who were getting their first taste of the music of the '60s.

—Elizabeth Barnes

Boston Police Violence Incites Ghetto Outbreak

JUNE 7 — "The people of Roxbury did not riot, the police did." This was the comment of Boston Rev. James P. Breeden on the six days of sharp clashes between the black residents of Boston's Roxbury ghetto and the cops that began June 2.

Long standing tensions came to a head when a group of Roxbury mothers organized as the Mothers for Adequate Welfare attempted to meet with city Welfare Director Daniel Cronin June 2 to demand needed reforms in Boston's welfare system. When Cronin refused to see them they staged a sit-in at the Grove Hall welfare office. The mothers chained the doors closed, vowing to remain in the building until officials would hear their grievances.

The cops were called in en masse and broke into the building. The *Boston Globe* reports "seconds later a woman appeared at the window screaming, 'They're beating our people on the head with sticks.'"

A large crowd of black youth who had gathered outside reportedly ran into the building when they heard this cry. Inside, they too were attacked by the police.

Demonstrations broke out throughout the Roxbury area. UPI reported June 2 that "The police set up a command post in a football stadium for the distribution of riot guns, bayonets and riot clubs to men called in from other divisions."

"By midnight 100 policemen had passed through the assembly point and were taken into the trouble area in groups of 10 or 12."

The *Boston Globe* announced on June 3 that "Under the plans, 1,700 Boston policemen were

called back to duty within an hour."

By Sunday 159 arrests had been made in the ghetto. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and fires broke out here and there in the ghetto area. Riot-helmeted cops moved down Blue Hill Avenue like a conquering army.

A number of black leaders were arrested in the course of the "riot." Thomas Atkins, vice chairman of the Boston NAACP, was among those arrested. He said "I have never witnessed such a disgusting and stupid display of officialdom." The *Boston Globe* reported that Atkins' nose was cut and one lens of his eyeglasses was missing when he was released from the Dudley St. police station.

Rev. James P. Breeden described the beginning of the "riot" at the welfare center: "The policemen inside the building roughed up the mothers, and those who arrived on the scene in helmets and wielding nightsticks panicked and began laying into bystanders."

The Mothers for Adequate Welfare have insisted that the city meet their demands for reform of the welfare procedures as a necessary prerequisite to restoring peace in the ghetto.

Their demands include the removal of Daniel J. Cronin, the welfare director; no denial of aid "based on hearsay evidence or malicious gossip"; the availability of welfare workers every morning, not just one day a week; treatment of welfare clients as equal human beings; and appointment of mothers on welfare to all policy-making boards of the Welfare Department.

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Big Cleveland Vote For U.S. Pullout

Readers of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* who participated in a balloting sponsored by the paper voted overwhelmingly in favor of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

More than 9,000 readers took part in the poll which offered them three choices: withdrawal, escalation or de-escalation.

Readers were asked to mail in their ballots on the basis of three articles published in the paper May 28. The article in favor of escalation was by Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. The one in favor of de-escalation was by Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark.). The article in favor of withdrawal was by Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University, author of the book, *Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal*.

It was reported seven days later that 9,162 readers had mailed in ballots. Of these, 5,796 favored withdrawal; 1,716 favored escalation, and 1,648 favored de-escalation.

Latin Aid Group Puts Out First News Bulletin

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has begun publication of a new bulletin, the *USLA Reporter*.

The first number dated May 1967 contains a full report on the jailing in Mexico of Adolfo Gilly and Victor Rico Galán, the well-known radical journalists. There is a message from Mexican political prisoners, an account of the conditions in Bolivian prison camps and news of the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

[In a later release the committee announced that 112 participants in the May 20-21 Washington conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee signed a petition protesting the torture of Hugo Blanco.]

The *USLA Reporter* sells for 10 cents and may be obtained from the Justice Committee at P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Some readers complained that the "administration position" had not been presented. The *Plain Dealer* reminded them that at the time it published the three positions it had reported that "a high member of the administration had been asked to write an article but had declined on grounds he did not want to get into a public debate."

The number of people who sent in ballots represented 1.7 percent of the paper's half million readers. But a telephone survey conducted by the paper indicated that only 20 percent of its readers had read the three articles. This would boost the percentage responding among those who read the articles to nearly nine percent.

Vote Against Congressmen

A further interesting aspect is that while the escalation and de-escalation positions were presented by well-known governmental figures, the withdrawal position was advanced by a man who, although known and respected among intellectuals and peace activists, is not widely known to the general public.

Zinn presented well-reasoned, effective arguments for withdrawal from Vietnam. Rivers urged increased bombing and the mining of the Haiphong harbor. Fulbright advocated a halt to the bombing, a joint cease fire, negotiations that would include the National Liberation Front and a pledge of eventual withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Fulbright added that if such negotiations should fail, "the United States should consolidate its forces in highly fortified defensible areas in South Vietnam and keep them there indefinitely."

The results of the poll will undoubtedly give a tremendous boost to the current efforts of the Cleveland antiwar movement to place a proposition on the municipal ballot that will give the city's voters an opportunity to vote in favor of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

The poll is one more significant demonstration of the widespread opposition to the war and to the strength of the withdrawal position as counterposed to the negotiations stand.

THE CAPITAL TIMES

MADISON, WIS., Tuesday, May 30, 1967

Viet War Lashed By General Here

Hughes Calls It Immoral

Stuns Crowd At Capitol Services

Wisc. Crowd Approves General's Antiwar Stand

The war in Vietnam was blasted by the principal speaker, Brig. Gen. Robert L. Hughes, U.S. Army Reserve, at a Memorial Day meeting on the State Capitol grounds in Madison, Wisc. The audience "was stunned into thoughtful silence" said the *Madison Capital Times*, "as a distinguished army general made a fervent plea for an end to the war."

Gen. Hughes, wearing a cluster of medals, spoke of the American dead in Vietnam. "They died in support of an unstable foreign government that is maintained only by the strength of the United States."

The World War II veteran asserted, "We are prosecuting an immoral war in support of a government that is a dictatorship by design. It represents nothing but a ruling clique and is composed of morally corrupt leaders who adhere to a war-lord philosophy."

Gen. Hughes said, "In this new era of political unrest, we cannot police the world, we cannot im-

pose our social system on other nations.

"We stand alone in Vietnam with token forces from some other countries and mercenaries from Korea paid by the United States," he continued.

"We are losing the flower of American youth in a war that could stretch into perpetuity. After four years of fighting, we cannot be sure of the security of villages three miles from Saigon, because we can't tell the good guys from the bad guys. We are in that position because we selected sides in a civil war.

"This is one hell of a war to be fighting. We must disengage from this tragic war," the general said.

"We should recognize our errors in judgment," he continued, and not compound them by trying to police the world. We shall cease as a political force if we don't follow a policy of coexistence with other nations.

"We cannot afford a major confrontation with the people of Asia if we want to dedicate this country to our sons and future generations," he concluded.

According to the *Capital Times*, a reporter circulating through the crowd "found general approval of

his address, with some reservations." This was particularly interesting, since the audience consisted of some 500 veterans and their families, as well as citizens generally.

"Somebody has to say these things," was one comment.

"This was a surprise package but I agree with him entirely," was another.

Those who disagreed added that they would "defend the right" of Hughes to state his opinions. One veteran said, "It was shocking, but he gave me something to think about."

"Where there was dissent," the *Capital Times* reported, "there was that acknowledgment of doubt also."

NEW YORK, June 7 — The city council capitulated last night after a token fight, to the demands of rent-gouging landlords for an unscheduled rent increase in rent-controlled apartments. The landlords claimed they needed the increase to offset "labor costs" after the recent strike of building service employees. Landlords will be permitted to grab up to two and a half percent a year for three years.

Socialist and Peace Offices Are Vandalized in Detroit

DETROIT — During the night of May 23 the offices of both the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Socialist Workers Party were broken into and vandalized. At the SWP headquarters, located in Debs Hall, the vandals smashed a plate glass door to get in. Coffee and sugar were dumped over the kitchen floor. Magazines, newspapers, office supplies and mimeograph materials were strewn over other rooms.

A similar rampage took place at the antiwar committee's office. The literature rack had been dumped over so that antiwar books and leaflets were scattered across the floor, desk drawers were emptied out onto the floor, pictures were taken down from the walls and a large Veterans Against the

War poster was ripped to pieces. A letter was found in the typewriter reading, "Enjoy life now for tomorrow you will surely be dead I HOPE."

The DCEWV office has been the target of many attacks in the last two years; almost all of the windows have been broken at some time.

It was at Debs Hall that a right-wing gunman murdered SWP member Leo Bernard and wounded young socialists Jan Garrett and Walter Graham May 16, 1966.

Michigan SWP Chairman Frank Lovell commented on the May 23 break-ins: "The cooperation between the right-wing forces, the police and the courts proves that we cannot depend on these forces to protect us . . . We must depend upon our own resources to guard our constitutional rights."



BLAST LBJ. Demonstrators at New York's Hotel Americana June 3. Later 4,000 marched to Waldorf Hotel where Johnson joined Robert Kennedy for Democratic Party "unity" meet. Other signs declared "Support our boys, not those who send them there."